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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred.

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *teunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *keteunk*, "turtle," and *eunkteunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin.

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it.

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 180 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food.

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 4, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 93.

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and died and therefore they (the Winnebago) have passed here.' 173
Likewise, if you build a fire, always cover up the embers, for if you 648
should throw away any into the water (you would be detected)."

Then they went away in boats and returned to the lake. When they came to the narrow place where the main body of water lies there they went ahead along the left branch. Now this is all of this.

After a while the tribes came to see the Frenchman, for it was about the time fixed, and they said, "How have you been getting along?" Then he said, "Children, you know what kind of people the Winnebago are. We watched them very closely, but they got away, in what direction I do not even know. In the morning they were gone. I believe they went downstream, although I haven't even hunted for them upstream."

Well, all these different tribes looked for the Winnebago, for they wished to trail them and kill them. Now, although the Frenchman had expressly forbidden them, sure enough (the Foxes) found a fish that had been speared. "They've come past here," they said. However, when they came to the fork of the stream they didn't know which way (the Winnebago) had gone, but they noticed embers in the water. "They've gone by here." As it was impossible to go to the end of the stream in boats, all the half-breed Foxes got out (and walked). Soon they saw the oval lodges. "There they are," they said. For that reason the Foxes carefully looked them over and watched them. They inquired about them and found out that they had passed by.

The road (trail) was visible, so they chased them. Soon a cold autumn spell overtook them and they (the enemy) gave up the chase and returned home.

We will not follow the course of Winnebago history through all 114
its vicissitudes from their defeat by the Foxes to the British and 175
American occupancy, but only indicate important facts. An important local event was the coming of the Frenchman Decora among them and his marriage to the daughter of the chief of the tribe. An account of this has been preserved by the Decora family, although it is clearly mixed up with what we believe is an account of the first contact of the Winnebago with the French.

HOW THE WINNEBAGO FIRST CAME INTO CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH AND THE ORIGIN OF THE DECORA FAMILY

The Winnebago originated at a place called Red Banks (Green 173
Bay, Wis.) (pl. 1). They had no tools to work with at that time. All they had were bows and arrows and a fire-starter. They had no iron, and if they saw a stone that was naturally sharpened in any way it was considered sacred and they offered tobacco for it. They had [276]
tobacco from the beginning. It was their most valued possession.

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172 tion. The Winnebago themselves claimed that the reason lodges were built upon mounds was because they could thus shed water most easily.

The conical mounds were unquestionably used for purposes of burial. Whether, however, they were always constructed with that particular object in view may be seriously doubted, for in some cases the burials seem to represent clear evidences of being intrusive in character. A few Indians insisted that some of the conical mounds were used as platforms from which to address an audience; that some were "stations" in the game of lacrosse, and that some were bases of lodges.

The composite type of mound, characterized by the union of a conical and a linear or by the union of a number of each, was interpreted by the Winnebago questioned as lodge bases connected with one another, the conical mound being the base of the lodge and the "linear" acting as a sort of connecting passageway.

[174] We mentioned before that Mr. Stout maintains the view that the linear are in reality conventionalized effigy mounds. Our main objection to such an interpretation would be that conventionalization is a method of artistic expression exceedingly rare among the Winnebago. Had it been common it would certainly have been found in use in their bead and quill work or in their woven bags. There is a possibility that some of the linears may be either very crudely constructed effigy mounds or that they may represent effigy mounds that have been changed through the influences of weather and general climatic conditions, as well as, to a smaller extent, by human hands, factors that have been neglected altogether too much in this connection, especially in the interpretation of what appear to be anomalies. From this point of view, it would be suggestive to compare some of the so-called "turtle" effigies with the water-spirit or "panther" type, on the one hand, and with the linears on the other. It is perhaps such "transitional" forms that have led Mr. Stout to postulate that all linears are effigies.

Summing up, we might say that the linears may be either effigies, in part representing a snake, or they may be, in part, altered or mutilated or crude effigies; or they may be the bases of lodges. We have the authority of a number of Indians that some are snake effigies. The interpretation that some are altered or mutilated has never been confirmed by the Indians themselves. Finally, that some of them are the bases of lodges is the statement of a large number of Indians, but it must await further evidence before it can be accepted.

That some of the mounds found in the Winnebago territory antedate, in part, the coming of the whites, and can consequently be regarded as constituting an archeological problem, there can hardly be any doubt. Nevertheless, many of them have been erected since

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Nicollet's time, some even within the recollection of Winnebago still living. All were unquestionably erected by the Winnebago, and since there is no reason for believing that this tribe entered Wisconsin many centuries before the first appearance of Europeans in America, it is quite erroneous to state, as Mr. Stout does, that the evidence at hand justifies us in dividing the occupancy of Wisconsin into two principal periods, the effigy mound-building era and the time that has elapsed since that period.

The use of copper by the Winnebago prior to their contact with Europeans is another of the rather baffling questions connected with Winnebago archeology. There are references to its use in the myth of the Twins, but the sections of the myth where it is mentioned show marked evidences of European influence and can hardly be accepted as reflecting the original mode of life of the Winnebago. Copper is found in a number of mounds, but we have no way of determining whether these mounds are pre-Columbian or not.

In all likelihood, almost all the copper found in Wisconsin comes from the original copper workings at Isle Royale, Keweenaw, Ontonagon, and elsewhere, in the Lake Superior district. "A provisional description of the territory in which the greatest number of such artifacts have been recovered up to the present time may be given as extending from about the middle of Milwaukee County, northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Door County, thence westward to the Wisconsin River or slightly beyond, thence southward along this stream to Dane County and eastward to Milwaukee County, the starting point. Embraced within this territory are the extensive lake shore village sites, from which thousands of articles have already been recovered, and certain well-known sites in Green Lake and adjoining counties, the Rush Lake and similarly productive regions."[1]

The region thus described embraces the Winnebago territory and that subsequently occupied by the Central Algonquian tribes. It does not follow the line of Winnebago migrations farther than the Wisconsin River to the west or farther than the southern boundary of Dane County to the south or southwest. As far as the writer knows no one has ever been able to obtain any information from the Winnebago that would in any manner connect them with the authorship of the copper implements found associated with their old village sites. All Indians questioned denied that their ancestors had ever used copper before the arrival of the early French traders. For the Winnebago, it seems to the writer, the problem connected with the occurrence of copper implements is not whether the Winnebago made them, but how they came to obtain them. The solution of this problem would be immensely facilitated if we had accurate knowledge

[1] Brown, in The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 52.

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vertebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[1]

Fire making.—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

Tanning.—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[2]

After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined log, one end of which has been smoothed

[1] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[2] Amer. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. vol. iv, pt. ii, pp. 205-208.

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PART II

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—GENERAL DISCUSSION

We are justified in assuming that the twofold division of the Winnebago and the southern Siouan tribes, Dhegiha and Teiwere, had a common historical origin. Our identification is based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Positive proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants, the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Teiwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very definite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves; that is, every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyze these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connection. Among the Omaha they are known as Ictacunda and Hanga, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponca, as Wajaje and Teiju, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa, as Yata and Ietunga, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as Teiju and Hanga, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms Teiju and Ictacunda are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey and Miss Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, that these names as well as the name Hanga are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the

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names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of facts speak strongly in favor of the reverse. In no case, for instance, can it be shown that the two divisions, per se, have any functions except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit, as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Dhegiha there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones.

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Teiwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not found among them. The Teiwere and Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appellations plus a type of designation descriptive of animal taboo. Which of the two types is the older it is difficult to say. This fact might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason for believing that these animal appellations have been reinterpreted and in other cases replaced by nonanimal designations; that the origin myths of these divisions always explain why a certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the taboo name; and lastly, that the majority of personal names are strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the Teiwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha had come into intimate contact and by whom they had been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe. Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this

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has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time.

Like a twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently used the term *ⁿonwoggthoᵉ*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *gthoᵉ* being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Quapaw use the term *enikucigu*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayumida*, "those-who-sing-together"; the Osage, the term *pda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a'radjra*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. [582] It has at the present time no other function, per se. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact of importance to us here is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favors the view that no Omaha would, for example, suppose that the Hangacenu division, as such, was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the Inkesabe gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the Hanga clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent

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of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the Teiju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divisions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the Teiju division of the Ponca. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *huŋk* or "chiefs," and to the other as *manaⁿp'e* or "soldiers," although the latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

[182] The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

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systematic questions

ing has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or according to names descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known by similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kuzo-ateira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'uka'teira*, "those living below", i. e., in the timber; *nixo'hateira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hpte x'dgominangera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may then suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization; whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. All that can be said in the fact that formerly *honi*, "band," seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjera* for clan; that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that the village group organization often preceded in many places the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type of change, namely, the substitution for animal designation, with correlated associations of descent or connection with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the functions of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology—the historical succession of types of naming.

The Twofold Grouping

The Winnebago are divided into divisions, one known as the *waxpereçi hewa*, "those who are above," the other as the *manegi hewa*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waxpereçi* covering the birds, the term *manegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has the idea of division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions

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ceremonial connections: first, in the organization of the village; second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

According to the majority of the older people, when the old social organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves by an imaginary line running due northwest and southeast, the *waŋgereʒi* clans dwelling in one half, with the chief's lodge in the south, and the *manaʒi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the bear or soldier lodge in the north (fig. 33). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis it is impossible to state. When this question was

directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed instead that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the center of the village (fig. 34).

In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that the first arrangement was always given by members of the bird clans, and the second arrangement by members of the Bear clan and generally also by others on the *manaʒi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship of these two types of village organization quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital relations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in different villages.

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10. ire, buffalo.
11. ke, fish.
12. wak'a", snake.

Another list was obtained in which only 10 clans were mentioned, the Fish and the Snake being omitted. The clans omitted are, however, regarded by all as of recent origin.

There are two older lists of Winnebago clans obtained by Morgan[1] and Dorsey.[2] Morgan gives the following clans: 614 114

Wolf.	Eagle.	Snake.
Bear.	Elk.	Thunder.
Buffalo.	Deer.	

Dorsey's list is more complete, although owing to the fact that he did not know of the existence of the twofold division, he classes the four Bird clans as subclans of one larger Bird clan. His list differs from the author's only in the absence of the Fish clan and in the fact that he was still able to obtain two archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans. Dorsey's list follows:

Wolf.	Bird.	Buffalo.
Bear.	*a*. Eagle.	Deer.
Elk.	*b*. Pigeon.	Water-monster.
Snake.	*c*. Hawk.	
	d. Thunderbird.	

Foster gives a grouping of the clans according to the fauna.[3] His list hardly was intended as an enumeration of the clans. According to Foster, we have the following grouping:

I. Thunderbird family or invisible Thunderbird people.
II. The air family, the visible Thunderbird people.
III. The land or quadruped family.
IV. The water family.

An interesting variant of the names of the Thunderbird and Warrior clans was given by one informant. He called the Thunderbird the good thunders, and the Warrior the bad thunders. This is strikingly reminiscent of the Menominee and was perhaps borrowed from them. 614 [115 177]

The main differences in the above lists are the order of the clans, the position of the Wolf clan, the presence of a general Bird clan called *wonĭk* by Dorsey, the double names for the Wolf and Bear clans, and the absence of a Fish and Warrior clan in Dorsey's and of a Hawk clan in the list obtained by the author.

The position of the Wolf clan, in spite of Morgan's and Dorsey's agreement, does not belong in the place assigned to it by them. In all probability their main informant was a member of this clan who wished to give his clan a greater importance than properly belonged

[1] Ancient Society, p. 167.
[2] Siouan Sociology. Fifteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 240-241.
[3] Quoted in J. O. Dorsey's MSS. of Winnebago clan names (B. A. E.).

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614 to it. There is no doubt but that in older times the Wolf clan played a far greater part in the affairs of the tribe than it does to-day, but that it ever was the principal clan of the tribe is out of the question.

614 With regard to Dorsey's postulation of a Bird (*wonik*) clan, all
●114 that can be said is that the author obtained nothing confirmatory of it. It is just possible that Dorsey, who apparently did not know of the existence of the two phratries, misinterpreted a popular grouping of the four clans of the upper phratry, as representing a fundamental division. Historically it may, indeed, be true that the four clans of the upper phratry represent the subdivision of one clan.

The archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans can not be translated with any degree of certainty any longer. It is barely possible that *degoni* means "lake band" and *teonank* means "blue back." Whether these are simply a second set of names, or whether they represent an historically older set, it is impossible to say to-day. The probabilities are that they are terms of respect.

The absence of the Warrior clan in Dorsey's list and the presence of a Hawk clan is rather interesting, for it shows that only 25 years ago the bird name for this clan was still in use. The Warrior and Hawk clans are identical, the latter being, however, the appellation that is preferred to-day.

In addition to the names given above, some of the clans have names indicative of respect, such as *hunge* for the Water-spirit, *haga* for the male members of the Bear clan, and *warowina* for the female members. It is also possible that the names *degoni* and *teonank*, mentioned by Dorsey for the Wolf and Bear clans, were terms of respect.

RECKONING OF DESCENT

614 Descent is patrilineal and a man's name generally belongs to his father's clan. Formerly there never was an exception to the rule that the name must belong to the father's clan, but of recent years [582] the Winnebago have become very lax in this particular. The irregularities in the giving of names were due to two causes—first, the intermarriage of Winnebago women with white men or with Indians of other tribes where the clan organization was either unknown or where descent was matrilineal, and, secondly, to the fact that the wife's parents were often in a better position to pay for the naming feast than the parents of the father. When a Winnebago woman marries a man who either has no clan or who reckons descent in the mother's line, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother's clan. This, however, lasts for only one generation. As a result the male children of such a marriage perpetuate the clan of the mother, although they transmit it thereafter in the male line.

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Another irregularity that has grown up within recent times in the occasional transmission of the clan war-bundle in the female line. In olden times it could only be transmitted in the male line, so as to prevent its passing out of the clan. It was, however, not always passed to the eldest son, but to that one who, by his actions and the interest he manifested in learning the legends and songs pertaining to the ceremony, showed himself capable of properly providing for the bundle. Now it happened occasionally that a man either possessed no son or that his son did not show sufficient interest in all that pertained to the bundle. In such a case the father had the alternative of giving it to some near relative in the male line, and if there were none of either giving it to some distant relative in the male line or the son of his sister or daughter. This, of course, happened very rarely, and in all probability the female line would eventually have to return it to the clan to which it originally belonged.

We have described these two instances of transmission in the female line in some detail in order to show how simply they can be explained without the intervention of any theory that the Winnebago reckoned descent in the female line originally. Such a claim has been made by Morgan and reiterated by Frazer. It seems to be based on the fact that Carver found the daughter of a Winnebago chief, known to the whites as Glory-of-the-Morning, and her children occupying an exceptional position among the tribe, or at least among the division of the Winnebago living at the upper end of Lake Winnebago, Wis. Her position and that of her children, one of whom has become well known in Winnebago legends, *Thap'ospaga*, was, however, due to the fact that she married a Frenchman named Decora. She was not the chieftainess of the tribe nor were any of her children, strictly speaking, chiefs of the tribe. In any case her position had nothing to do with female descent and at best but illustrates what we have said before about the clan to which children of such a union belong.

INDIVIDUAL NAMES

Before turning to the specific study of each clan a few words must be said about the individual names. From a purely descriptive point of view the names can be arranged in nine classes:

I. Color.
II. Physiological characteristics.
III. Social functions.
IV. Animal and plant forms.
V. Animal characteristics.
VI. Natural phenomena.
VII. Quality.
VIII. Episodes of a legendary character.
IX. Personal achievement.

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the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the priestly esoteric interpretation.

The prevalent conception of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal transformed at the origin of the present human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and the general statements of individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristics of the animal of the latter was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although the animals have lost this to-day, they are nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human and now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation. Among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete as compared with the same powers of primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavoring of a philosophy developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions upon the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and in the lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and as applied to those animals that were brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor.

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a development of this older Winnebago idea of the origin

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CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

The Thunderbird Clan

INTRODUCTION

The Thunderbird clan was unquestionably the most important of all the Winnebago clans. In numbers it seems to have equaled the three other clans of its phratry, and, since the upper phratry had about as many individuals as the lower phratry, the Thunderbird clan must have comprised about one-fourth of the entire tribe. How are we to explain this? Historical data are, of course, missing, so that any explanation reached is entirely hypothetical, but still it seems justifiable to hazard some interpretation. The most plausible hypothesis is to assume that the Winnebago were originally organized on a village basis and that the largest of these villages and the earliest to adopt the clan organization were those that took the thunderbird as their totem.

In the origin myths, the origin of the Thunderbird clan is always given as Green Bay, and in contradistinction to the accounts of other clans, the ancestors of the clan are supposed to have originated at Green Bay and not to have traveled there from some other place. How much credence is to be given to such a localization it is hard to say, but assuredly it should not be dismissed as entirely worthless.

The origin myths of the Thunderbird clan possess some interesting features which deserve a few words of comment. In the first version we have an account of the creation of the world which is almost identical with that given in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance (p. 380). None of the other clan origin myths contain it. How are we to explain this? As a secondary accretion or as an original and archaic feature? On internal evidence we suspect that it is a secondary accretion and that the original version began with the second paragraph. There seems to be no intelligible reason for having Earthmaker create two sets of individuals. If we suppose that the original version began with the second paragraph and that the general account of the creation was subsequently added, we would have a satisfactory explanation of this feature. Only one of the three versions obtained contains this general ac-

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count of creation, and thus we have another reason for doubting its age.

There are other indications of an assimilation with the general origin myth in our versions, such as the absence of animals on the earth and the ascription of certain geographical features to the activity of the thunderbirds. Throughout, however, we are always confronted with the possibility that we may be dealing with an old village origin myth. There seems to be no doubt but that the episode of the origin of death, so distinct from that given in the general origin myth, is archaic. Other features, on the other hand, like the description of the origin of fire, are clearly reflections of certain possessions always associated with the Thunderbird clan.

A perusal of the following versions and the versions of the other clan origin myths indicates clearly how personal the accounts are. The members of the Thunderbird clan, as we shall subsequently show for the members of the other clans too, make claims of power and importance for their clans that are hardly justified by what we know of their actual power. As sources of information, therefore, we must be extremely cautious in our use of these origin myths.

Before leaving this subject it might be well to point out the number of different explanations given in these myths of the relations of the members of the clan to their eponymous clan ancestor. If a Winnebago were asked what this relation was he would answer offhand that the members of the different clans were descended from certain spirit-thunderbirds who were transformed into human beings at Green Bay.

In the first version the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan are created by Earthmaker and brought down to earth by the four spirit-thunderbirds the first Earthmaker had created. They are apparently human beings and not heroic birds, as most of the members of the clan assure you. To complicate the situation we have even the mention of the fact that the second set of people who came to visit them were members of the Thunderbird clan.

In the second version we have the customary identification of the ancestors of this clan with birds. At the end of this version we have the distinct statement, which is, however, clearly not part of the myth but an explanation by the informant, that the members of the clan call themselves thunderbirds because they, like the true thunderbirds, caused a drizzling rain and fog when they went about.

It is only in the myth of the origin of the Warrior clan that we have what can be interpreted as an account identical with that given offhand by the Winnebago. Here we are told that the warriors or hawks when they entered the lodge at Green Bay began to look different and that their feathers were worn off.

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 622 [778] [682 304]

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition, and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [686]

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows: 622 614

> The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included. [156]
>
> If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [431]

[1] He divided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he indeed was identical with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

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Facial paintings of these two clans, it is claimed, were the same as those for the Thunderbird clan (pl. 46). This was denied by others.

According to one informant the Pigeon clan was borrowed from another tribe.

CLAN NAMES

WAHNEE' HIN'IE'A'HANERA (THE HERD CLAN)[9]

Ahegidjawehiga.....Young bird (that shoots its first feathers as it flaps its wings.
Ahenip'eewehiga.....Spreads her wings (said of a young bird just learning to fly).
Ahemeenip'ega.....He who hits the ground with his wings (refers to a cloud).
Ahep'ahiga.....Sharp wing (said of a thunderbird).
Ahepeewehiga.....Transparently clear wings.[10]
Ahere-ega.....He who raises his wings (i. e., the edges of a cloud).
Ahiwak'a.....Strikes his wings.[11]
Ahoowerga.....Long wings (as a far-extended cloud, stands being the plumage of the thunderbirds).
Ahoogewiga.....White wing.
Ahoowewiga.....Green wing.
Ahoowewehiga.....Fleet wing.
Adedjiwahiga.....He who sets the prairie grass on fire suddenly (i. e., the lightning).
Cadjega.....He who kindles the (fire?).[12]
Hadjare.....She who has long arms.
Hadjarewiwiga.....Difficult to be seen.
Ha'p' hik'inahiga.....He who misses the day.
Ha'p'ak' gawiga.....Owl returning hither.
Ha'pirak'a.....New day.
Hirdja Kaiwadjega.....Hawk-face.
Hirawepewiga.....Eagle woman.
Hirawepega.....Black eagle.
Hirawepiega.....Green hawk.
Hiwaega.....Green tail.
Hiwirajajega.....Forked-tailed hawk.
Haha'p'ega.....Returning light.
Haha'hanahiga.....Walks in the light.
Haha'p'djik'ega.....Light that comes hither regularly.
Haha'p'djikaega.....Light flashes suddenly.

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[9] The following list of names is based partly upon the manuscripts of Winnebago personal names prepared by the late Mr. J. O. Dorsey, and now in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology. This list has been revised and the phonetics of the Winnebago names corrected and unscrambled by the author, but the English renderings of the names have been left as Mr. Dorsey obtained them, as the author obtained practically the same translations. Many of the names were obtained independently by the author. Dorsey's list is the[?] the amalgamation of two lists, that obtained by Dr. Foster and his own. He subsequently revised Foster's list, but to those names of the latter's list for which he could not obtain any translation he appended Foster's initials.

[10] Dorsey has "skin" wings, adding "as in a transparent thorny cloud." However, the word *pere*, which is the full form for *pe*, means "clear," and is generally used to describe water in a brook. The interpretation of this and many other names as referring to clouds necessarily and not to the simply characteristics of the wings of the thunderbirds, is not obtained frequently to-day, but there seems to be reasons for believing that it was not customary a generation or two ago. For a discussion of the meaning of this custom in general see the introduction to the section on social organization.

[11] Dorsey's rendering "cold wings" is most certainly incorrect.

[12] Foster translates "misty" and Dorsey "smoke," but our reason as Radin's list, literally to cause the blue flame that appears just as the flame start up.

[177] 302 614 [14]

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614 in power, as they had changed themselves twice. There they crossed
539 the tracks of the Wolf clan, and they said, "Our friends have gone
776 by." Then they went and sat opposite the Wolf people. The Wolf and Bear clans must bury one another.

The 10 men left their father and mother across the ocean.

The Bears should paint their faces with charcoal from burnt hamwood and red paint. The face should be painted red and black alternately crosswise in stripes, or black on the upper half and red on the mouth and chin. Women are painted with red markings on each cheek and with charcoal markings in the center of the cheek.

THIRD VERSION

Informant, member of the Bear clan: It is supposed that Earthmaker ordered a meeting of all the animals to take place at Green Bay, and that the Soldiers (another name for the Bear clan) were also to attend.

In the beginning Earthmaker created all things in the form of animals, but at this gathering they (the originators of the various clans?) were to become human. When all was in readiness to start, it was decided that the families of those animals who were to become the ancestors of the Winnebago clans were each to send one representative, and that the one who was thus chosen, accompanied by his wife, was to become transformed on that occasion. Of the soldiers (i. e., the bears) the youngest was sent. He had three brothers, of whom the eldest had black hair, the second dark red hair, and the third blue or green hair. They were the chiefs of the villages from which they had started.[14] Only the youngest, however, was sent to the earth to attend the meeting. When he emerged at a place to the north of Green Bay he came from out the earth. When they emerged (the bear and his wife) it was a very fine day. As they were coming they heard voices in the distance saying, "The soldiers are coming." As they started to walk their footprints seemed imprinted with the blue of the sky—i. e., with daylight. A name has originated from this fact (Aⁿᵉhamaxina, "He-who-walks-with-the-day"). As his wife was with him, he immediately started to hunt. (It seems that by this time the bear had some followers, for some would from time to time ask whether they were going to eat, and he would answer yes and tell them to hunt for food.)

When the youngest of the brothers started, the brothers who remained behind told him "to remember them" with regard to tobacco, red feathers, and food, and therefore after he had started he told some of his followers to go ahead and bring food of such and such a kind, so that when he arrived at certain camping places these sent

[114]

[14] It must be remembered that all this is taking place in the heavens, in the spirit abode of the beasts. The other translations are only approximate.

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as desirous of being killed and eaten by man is, however, but another way of saying that the food animals were killed and eaten, and were secondarily and weakly brought into the general religious life, because everything was seen through a religious vista. It is by no means certain that this was always the case, and there seem to be innumerable indications in the myths that there was a time when the securing of the food animals was not connected with religion as such.

Just as the securing of food animals is to-day connected with certain spirits, so are the various activities of man during his life. But characteristically it is not a generalized conception of life, but life as consisting of a prescribed number of years, with so many war honors, so much wealth, so much food consumed, so many children, etc. The spirits are exhorted to give to every man his allotted number of years, food, etc. These are apparently his by right, and if he dies before his time the ghost of the deceased is asked to beg the spirits to distribute among his relatives the "unused" years, food, etc. So here, too, we have a clear example of the explanation of purely materialistic conception of life in terms of religion.

It will be best to discuss the main features of Winnebago religion under the following heads:

I. The religious concepts:
   1. The concept of supernatural power.
   2. The concept and nature of the spirits.
   3. The power and localization of the spirits.

II: 1. The twofold interpretation of the relation of the spirits to man.
   2. The guardian spirits.
   3. Personal religious experiences.

III. Methods of bringing the spirits into relation with man:
   1. Fasting.
   2. Mental concentration.
   4. Offerings and sacrifices.
   5. Prayers.

IV. The folkloristic concepts:
   1. The concept of evil.
   2. The concept of disease.
   3. The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.
   4. The concept of the soul.

V. The cosmological ideas.

The Concept of Supernatural Power[1]

The Winnebago have no such belief in a "magic power" as Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt and Mr. W. Jones would have us believe exists among

[1] For a general discussion of this concept in North America cf. my paper on the "Religion of the North American Indians," Journal of American Folklore, vol. 27, no. 104, pp. 335-488.

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T71 [114] the Iroquois and Fox.[1] In the article mentioned above we have given our reasons for believing that these ethnologists were mistaken in their interpretation.

T76 192 In the Winnebago language the four words most commonly used in speaking of the spirits are *wak'a*[a], *wak'a'ndja*, *zop*, and *waxop'i'ni*. *Wak'a*[a] seems exactly equivalent to our word "sacred," while *wak'a'ndja*, which is identical with the Omaha word *wakonda*, means thunderbird. In all likelihood it originally meant "he who is sacred" or something like that. It has nothing to do with the word "thunder," which is *k'oire* in Winnebago. The word *wak'a*[a] also means snake, for the snake is a holy animal among the Winnebago, the messenger of the spirits. The word *zop*, identical with the Omaha *zube*, is more difficult to define. It means sacred and awe-inspiring and seems to be associated, in the eyes of the Winnebago, with the intensely emotional aspects of religion, where self is completely forgotten. Those ceremonies, in which the performers work themselves into a frenzy of excitement and dance naked, are always referred to as *zop*. The word *waxop'i'ni* is clearly a noun compounded of the indefinite prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-ni*, which possibly is an old agentive nominalizer, or, more probably, an old stem meaning "man." It occurs also in the word *manka'ni*, medicine-man. In other words it means "he who" or "that which is holy." *Waxop'i'ni* is the only Winnebago word for spirit. Both the words *wak'andja* and *waxop'i'ni* are very definite terms referring to individualized spirits.

[786]

T76 T71 192 As to the use of the adjectives *wak'a*[a] and *zop*, there seems to be little mystery about them. They are used much as our words "holy" and "sacred." Anything in any way connected with the spirits is either *wak'a*[a] or *zop*. If a Winnebago were to come across some unusually shaped object he might offer tobacco to it, and upon being questioned he would undoubtedly say that the object is *wak'a*[a]. What is it that he means by *wak'a*[a]? From my experience in the field he simply means that it is "sacred," and if pressed for a more definite answer he would probably say that it has the power of

[1] According to Mr. Hewitt, *orenda* is a "magic power which was assumed . . . to be inherent in every body . . . and in every personified attribute, property, or activity . . . This hypothetic principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action . . . The possession of *orenda* . . . is the distinctive characteristic of all the gods, and these gods in earlier time were all the bodies and beings of nature in any manner affecting the weal or woe of man." (Article "Orenda" in the Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, pt. 2.) According to W. Jones, the mosko "is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, mysterious property, which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature . . . The conception of this something wavers between that of a communicable property, that of a mobile, invisible substance, and that of a latent transferable energy: . . . this substance, property, or energy is conceived as being widely diffused amongst natural objects and human beings . . . the presence of it is promptly assigned as the explanation of any unusual power or efficacy which any object or person is found to possess: . . . It is a distinct and rather abstract conception of a diffused, all-pervasive, invisible, manipulable, and transferable life-energy, or universal force . . . (Finally) all success, strength, or prosperity is conceived to depend upon the possession of (this force)."—"The Algonkin Manitou" (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 18, no. LXX, pp. 183-190, 1905).

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bestowing blessings upon him — in other words, of acting like a spirit, a *waxop'i'ni*. That is why he offers tobacco to it. We would be inclined to say that the individual finding such an object has created a new spirit. Such a new spirit may be forever confined to the particular family to which the individual belongs. It might die with him, or, on the other hand, it might acquire great importance and popularity and become a tribal spirit. What seems to have happened, in the vast majority of cases, however, among the Winnebago, is that owing to the marked development of the spirit-deities and cosmogonic myths, such "sacred" objects were interpreted as being either some manifestation of a spirit, some transformation which he had assumed, or as inhabited by a spirit.

The reason why, in our opinion, so many ethnologists have apparently misinterpreted the nature of *wak'a*[a] is due to the fact that when something that, from the European viewpoint, is immaterial and inanimate, like vapor, light, movement, etc., is called *wak'a*[a], then it seems difficult for them to imagine that it can be so except by virtue of some intimate connection with a definite spirit, and if that can not be demonstrated, then the only solution left is to fall back upon the "magic power" idea. By doing this they clearly show that for them the test of individualization is corporeality of a fairly definite kind, dependent mainly upon visual sensations. This brings us to a fundamental problem, not only for Winnebago religion, but for North American religion in general.

The Concept and Nature of the Spirits

Those Indians who have never spent any time thinking upon the nature of spirits can not truly be said to have any concept of their nature, whether vague or definite. They simply repeat what they have heard from the more religiously inclined. An answer prompted by a moment's consideration, as is often the case when an ethnologist interrogates them, does not necessarily reflect the current view of the subject, nor, for that matter, even the same Indian's belief after he has given the matter some thought. Many Winnebago, with whom the author was fairly well acquainted, refused to answer certain questions offhand and asked for time to reflect about them. It seems justified, when we are studying a subject like religion, to ask for information from those who have, in all probability, formulated the beliefs — the shamans. It is from them that we must strive to learn whether the spirits are conceived of as anthropomorphic, theromorphic, dream-phantasms, or indefinite entities in general.

In trying to discover this the author found, not only that he was asking a leading question, but that he was asking an unnecessary question. It was soon quite clear that the Winnebago did not

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825 776 787 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this [841] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . ."

HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'ERRXKA REFUSED A BLESSING FROM DISEASE-GIVER[a]

787 159 776 The daughter of Mank'errxka was fasting. She was his third daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles, [782] Wolf and Elk.[b] When they came she put tobacco in their hands and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

[a] The rest of the story is a description of a bear feast and how, in spite of the warning of the spirit-bear two menstruating women took part in the feast; how, thereupon, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the bear feast was given up.

[114] [b] This account has been cast in a literary mould, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

[c] There are the names of individuals.

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575 796 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo headdresses; the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail,[1] and a general description will be found on page 350.

796 727 Of the semipermanent societies, the *hok'ixe're* dance is given after every successful war party by those four individuals who have counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 379.

796 278 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was obtained, owing to lack of time.

Ceremonies Associated With the Clans

The Clan Feasts

The Thunderbird Clan or Chief Feast

796 614 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year, sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation "chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find clan feasts of the other members of the *waŋgreŋi* division, namely, of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such it is also regarded by the members of the *maⁿoŋi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to speculate about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up into four subclans. Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,[2] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly

[1] The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, Journal of American Folklore, vol. XXIV, No. XCII, 1911.

[2] Siouan Sociology, 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 211.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Teiwere branches of the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption.

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

The Chief feast.—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[a] The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed.

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given.

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose

[a] Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of this feast. As in type, however, all the clan feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with those feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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are finished then it will be time for us to eat." Warriors who are sitting within the lodge, we send forth our greetings to you." (War-bundle song.) 796* 539*

Then a man sitting opposite the seat of the host gets up and speaks.

First guest's address to the young people.—"War-bundle owners, young men, those who are the proxies of spirits, are about to use a song for you and start a dance in your behalf; and when they do it, get up and try to obtain war powers by dancing. Women, you should also try to obtain war powers for your brothers by dancing. Now we are not able to obtain (the number of men) that our ancestors used to obtain in the beginning. Then, if in a speech they asked for them, as many men as there were around would immediately begin to dance. Not one of them would remain in his seat. Young women, they used to act in that way in order to obtain life also. All night they would dance and not a single one would tire of it. We encourage you to do thus; that is why I am saying this. That the obtaining of life may be easy, is the reason they told us this. Because I believe it (likewise) is the reason I am telling it to you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all."

Host's second speech.—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you all.

"Our grandfathers knew that one of a different tribe[a] had had a vision and obtained material for use (in life). They tried to obtain it and (finally) asked him to pity them. The medicine was called hinuŋgwâ'ruŋi.[b] They made the heart of the man of this other tribe (Hit'e'nuŋk'e) sad.[c] (He had obtained it in the following manner): A woman fasted[d] and one of the Water-spirits whom the Creator had placed there for all eternity, a Water-spirit for keeping (the earth) quiet,[e] blessed her with the power he had been placed in charge of. The Water-spirit had himself die and the woman there 796* 539* 787 [776] [789]

[a] Literally, "last mentioned." In reference to the last-eating contest that takes place during the feast.

[b] This is not a Winnebago tale.

[c] My interpreter could not translate the name of this medicine into English. He thought that it might mean "wicked woman medicine," but this is extremely doubtful.

[d] I. e., of the idea of parting with it. What tribe is meant by "Hit'e'nuŋk'e," it has been impossible to find out. The word, I believe, means "those whom we can speak with" in reference to the fact that their language was intelligible to the Winnebago. I was definitely assured that neither the Oto, Iowa, or Missouri were meant. I have sometimes surmised that the Winnebago may be referring to the Mandan, whose language, from the little I have seen of it, is surprisingly close to that of the former. All that the older Winnebago could tell me about the Hit'e'nuŋk'e was the fact that many years ago they had been in contact with a tribe speaking a language similar to their own. [114]

[e] Literally, "to thirst oneself to death," the ritualistic expression for fasting.

[f] He is referring to one of the four beings whom Earthmaker had placed at the four ends of the world to prevent it from moving restlessly, as related in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance and of the Thunderbird clan.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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SOME NOTES ON WINNEBAGO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION[1]

By TRUMAN MICHELSON

THE easily accessible accounts of Winnebago social organization are Morgan's Ancient Society,[2] J. O. Dorsey's Siouan Sociology,[3] the article *Winnebago* in the Handbook of American Indians, initialed by James Owen Dorsey and Paul Radin,[4] and Paul Radin's The Clan Organization of the Winnebago,[5] his Winnebago Tribe,[6] and lastly his The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, An Interpretation.[7]

None of these authors apparently were aware that a number of important statements on this and kindred topics are to be found in Caleb Atwater's Remarks made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien; thence to Washington City, in 1829.[8] I quote from this as follows.

Carrymaunee (walking turtle) a Winnebago chief carries a large Tortoise, fully extended, and beautifully painted, perfect in all its limbs, on his back as he marches onward at the head of the turtle tribe. In the same manner, Snakeskin marches at the head of the snake tribe, with the skin of a large snake tied around his neck. In fine, every tribe has its standard bearer, with appropriate emblems (p. 87).

Their form of government is aristocratical, and the whole structure of their society is equally so. The Winnebagoes are divided into seven tribes, or bands, some of these are named after animals, such as the Turtle tribe, the Snake tribe, wolf tribe, &c., and others are named after inanimate things, as the Thunder tribe. These tribes dwell in different places, in towns or villages; in each one of which, there are two Civil Chiefs, who govern that town—for instance Du Corri and Winneshiek are at the head of the government, of the Le Croix village situated near the Mississippi river, on its eastern bank, 80 miles north of Prairie Du Chien. So of all the other tribes, each one of which, has its town or seat of government, and is governed by its two civil chiefs. The civil government of the Winnebagoes, is in the hands of fourteen civil Chiefs, and when they are assembled in one council, it is the grand national council.

[1] Printed by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

[2] Page 157.

[3] Fifteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 240–41.

[4] Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, Pt. 2, pp. 958–61.

[5] American Anthropologist, Vol. 12, 1910, pp. 209–19.

[6] Thirty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 181 *et seq.*

[7] Museum Bulletin, Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, No. 10 (Anthropological Series, No. 5).

[8] Published by Isaac N. Whiting, Columbus, Ohio, 1831. I have not seen the edition (of the same date) published by Jenkins and Glover. Atwater's The Indians of the Northwest, etc., Columbus, 1850, apparently has the same contents and pagination as his Remarks which I have seen. So we may presume that the 1831 edition (which I have not seen) of his The Indians of the Northwest is the same also. "The Writings of Caleb Atwater" (Columbus, 1833) has apparently disappeared from the Library of Congress. The proofsheets have been verified by consulting the 1850 edition, differences in capitalization being ignored.

3: Michelson E-4 (no date) 1935
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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
562 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and
624 by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
551 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for
614 their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin,
174 and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the
[648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

3: Michelson E-4 (no date) 1935
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than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[15] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was inhabited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with Atwater's data.

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'û'ñgegā as a personal name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'û'ñgera as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'û'ñgē is a large species of turtles, and that kē also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r.

[15] They are in his Fox list.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

AMONG THE WINNEBAGO

By Huron H. Smith*

● 114 During the summer of 1928, the writer made a study of the Winnebago Indians, in line with his former ethnobotanical studies of other Indians of Wisconsin. After having worked with four tribes who were all of Algonkian stock, it was interesting to encounter these people who are related to the Sioux. The four tribes previously studied were the Menomini, Meskwaki, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi. The first two are the subjects of Nos. 1 and 2 of Volume IV of the bulletin of this museum, while the publications on the latter two are in preparation.

000 While all of the Algonkian languages are different from one another, they are at least similar enough to enable the student to grasp the likeness in a short time. In fact, Potawatomi is quite similar to Ojibwe, a sort of an abbreviated Ojibwe, as it were. Some of the medicinal words evidently point to a common origin, for exactly the same name is sometimes used for a plant by all four tribes. A careful study of Indian plant names reveals those unnamed plants that came into their region within historic times, as non-native or adventive species. The use of plants is a vital topic among Indians, and their plant lore is handed down from generation to generation. Most of our Wisconsin adventive plants have come into the State in the last hundred years, and a goodly proportion of these in the last forty years. Indians are not apt to take the white man's word for the medicinal use of the adventive plant, so that their lack of an Indian name for the plant in question, is sure evidence that it is a new comer. When we consider how long it must have taken these people to acquire their medicinal knowledge, doubtless by the old process of "trial and error," we wonder how many more centuries must elapse before they learn the uses of adventive species.

192 177 The Winnebago are particularly zealous in giving everything Winnebago names, if possible, and should there be some conspicuous attribute to an adventive plant, it will probably have a name in their language. Questioning will bring out the reason for the name and also whether or not they know a use for the plant. They have regular words for tea

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4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP 12 Winnebago NP 12

and coffee, which were, of course, unknown to them before the coming of the White Man. Other tribes in Wisconsin have made no attempt to set up their own words for these, but call them by their English names as nearly as they can pronounce them. This trait of the Winnebago is often amusing. For example the watermelon was unknown to them until about seventy-five years ago. The first recipient of a watermelon among them considered it a pumpkin, cut it up into small pieces, and boiled it in a pot. The resultant product was scarcely edible, so led to the appellation of "wicawasukela"—"a pumpkin that did'nt get ripe." But later, they discovered that the whites ate them just as they were; and upon trying this they discovered their merit, and have been very fond of them ever since. But the first name stuck, and it is thus called to this day.

While we had met Winnebago before this summer, we had never attempted to discourse at length on their uses of plants. In 1923, we first met Frank Smith, "makiwika," with his wife who was making baskets, in Minocqua where we admired her art. Every year since we have seen Frank at some Indian pow-wow or other. During the "Pageant of Progress," in Milwaukee, July, 1926, Frank and his new Ojibwe wife were at the Indian Village on the lake front, with Mr. H. L. Mumm, of Wausau, demonstrating Indian arts and crafts. There, too, we met two other Winnebago workers, Jim Henniger and his wife, although the Indians in the village proper were all full-blooded Ojibwe from Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin. The museum is also fortunate in having the friendship of Ulysses A. White, of Wisconsin Rapids, who was formerly employed in Milwaukee. Mr. White is a pure blooded Winnebago, as is his wife, a quite uncommon occurrence in these times of inter-tribal marriages. He introduced to the Museum, John Bear, of Wisconsin Rapids, another old Winnebago Indian, through whom Mr. W. C. McKern, Associate Curator of Anthropology, of the Museum, has been able to collect some interesting ancient Winnebago stories. Mr. Bear spent the entire winter of 1927-1928 at the Museum, and was helped in his work by Mr. White. All of this preliminary work was the subject of several conferences between the writer and Mr. McKern at which we became acquainted with the linguistics of the Winnebago and listed the plant names used in the various stories.

The first trip of the summer was to Trempealeau, where the Museum was conducting archeological investigations which the writer, as President of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, wished to see. Furthermore Mr. McKern had written that there were Winnebago Indians in Trempealeau. These proved to be a family living in the old brewery at the edge of the village, but they were from Winnebago, Nebraska, and were not familiar with the Wisconsin plants. The field party, however, interested us for a week. The Museum camp was established in Perrot State Park, on the banks of the Trempealeau River near its

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau, who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk, Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements at Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids. When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick, from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and immediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winnebago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thousand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

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[p. 146]

A WINNEBAGO WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY

By W. C. McKern*

182 796 The primitive religious ceremonies of the Winnebago Indians are not destined long to survive. Not only is the new generation forgetting or deliberately neglecting the traditions of the old order, due to the growing influence of encroaching white civilization, but the conversion of many of the older members of the tribe to the Peyote faith has thinned the ranks of the Medicine Lodge to a marked extent. Many of those responsible for introducing this new Christian cult among the Winnebago are still alive. Its unabated ascendency in the favor of the Indians is proportionate to the decline of ancient religious practices.

177 276 795

114 796 However, meetings of the old order still are held, and are in some measure successful, due largely to the fact that many of the Peyote

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people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family. It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle ceremony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teas-tcu-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago. Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds, who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly constructed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[52] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry.
264 They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a certain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574, It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
● 114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in the day.

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke ceremoniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors.

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver.

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously.

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated.

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in.

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12

CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

Introduction

Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group. The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

The Indians observed were family groups from almost all of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less independently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two groups.

In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12

It was during the 1944 cherry season, a period extending from the early part of July to the middle of August, that the bulk of material was collected for this paper. 114

Attitudes Within the Changing Society

Opinions vary of course with Indians, according to the amount of education they have had, their native intelligence, or their personal interests. Furthermore, the contrast in attitudes between the older and the younger generations is a most significant feature. 178 182 561

It would be impossible to put age limits on the terms "older" and "younger," but an age between 45 and 50 seems to be the dividing line. One might also have to add a third classification: those individuals who grew up in the situation of the younger group, but upon reaching greater maturity tend toward the opinions of the older people.

The young people, through contact with the older generation, or by taking part in tourist-trade ceremonials, are apt to know the old dances and songs, but seem to feel that these things are pointless or merely a means of making a living. They have been living in an unstable, changing society since birth and follow along in the uncertain Indian-white pattern of culture with no particular ambitions or interests in what it may eventually produce in their own futures.

The young people from Nebraska contrasted strongly with those of Wisconsin in this respect, being generally more progressive and better educated; but it would be unreasonable to infer that this is a typical difference between the Wisconsin and Nebraska Winnebago since the representation of the Nebraska Indians in our group was so small. [184]

Many of the older people, on the other hand, can remember when the Winnebago retained enough of their original culture to have a fairly complete and working social organization. They blame all the misfortunes of the tribe on the young people, who according to the old people, do just as they please in matters of morals, ethics and religion, and they furthermore have no respect for the opinions of the older mem-

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

PREFACE

For most individuals the American Indian still possesses a tremendous appeal, an appeal which, in a manner, constitutes one of the great obstacles to our properly understanding him. It has been that way since the days of the discovery of the continent. Then it was the gold and the pearls that exercised a magical fascination; to-day it is the belief that somehow, in some way, the Indians are still living in that delightful half-Arcadian condition of simplicity after which so many souls still yearn, particularly those individuals who dwell in the city. Nothing is gained by calling these people sentimentalists. We should always remember that from the time Spanish chroniclers began writing their accounts of El Dorado and the quaint peoples with the still quainter customs who dwelt there, the Indian has been a symbol for youth and freedom of expression, for freedom from the shackles of civilized constraint. Like Siegfried he knew the language of the birds and patted Nature kindly on the back. A vast literature has grown up on this symbolism of the Indian, particularly in France.

It seems almost sacrilege to trifle with this vision or to question it, and the first result of a so-called scientific inquiry is bound to leave a very bad sensation of

[P. vi is blank]

7; Radin E-8 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

114 nightmare. That is, of course, the terrible price all
121 sentimentalists must pay for the undiluted pleasure they have had of rocking themselves into a fictitious bliss from which they are to be rudely and unceremoniously awakened. Yet this seems to me exceedingly bad sportsmanship, to say the least, and an exceedingly erroneous conception of romance. There is, in fact, infinitely more romance—if it is romance we are seeking, and most of us are—in trying to obtain an approximately accurate account of what this Indian of our childhood imagination actually is, how he thinks, feels, reacts, adapts himself to the varying conditions of life, than in rehearsing all the scenes of Chateaubriand and Cooper.

But having set ourselves this task of discovering what the real Indian is like, we are immediately surrounded by difficulties. One of the greatest drawbacks in the study of a primitive people is, in fact, the difficulty of obtaining an inside view of their culture from their own lips and by their own initiative. Let no investigator flatter himself: a native informant is at best interested in merely satisfying the demands of the investigator. The limitations thus imposed as regards the nature and the extent of the knowledge obtained are still further increased by the circumstances in which the knowledge is generally imparted, circumstances of a nature tending to destroy practically all the subjective values associated with the particular ritual, myth, etc., that is being narrated.

How can this fundamental defect be remedied?

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

Preface

There is only one way—to have a native himself give the account in his own mother tongue. The problem then resolves itself into finding the native. That is the task I set myself and through a piece of good luck I succeeded in accomplishing it. As the manner of its accomplishment is an interesting and illuminating story in itself, I hope I shall be excused for telling it in some detail.

In the year 1909 I commenced field investigations among the Winnebago Indians living on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River, about twenty-five miles south of Sioux City, Iowa. These Indians had the reputation of being fairly conservative. Perhaps the fact that a Presbyterian mission had in seventeen years succeeded in converting only one family, and a family which then unkindly died without leaving issue, may bear this out.

Among these Indians there lived a family named Blow Snake, consisting of a father and a fair number of children all grown up. Two of these were men quite well known in the tribe for a variety of reasons. These two became my principal informants. They had lived the most exciting of lives, for to the usual round of adventures that fall to the lot of most Indians of that region now, they had added a murder and a conversion, the murder first and the conversion afterwards. The older of the two seemed to be by far the more gifted. His memory was simply prodigious. He recounted to me a ceremony which took him two months, working practically six hours a day, to tell

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

and within forty-eight hours the whole manuscript was done.

It is this manuscript translated literally that is here presented. No changes of any kind have been introduced. Certain things, however, that Crashing Thunder had told me on previous occasions, which, for that reason, he merely mentions in the autobiography proper, I have inserted in their proper places. Everything in this manuscript comes directly from him and was told in the original and in the first person. It is needless for me to insist that I in no way influenced him either directly or indirectly in any way.

Some years ago the autobiography proper was published with annotations as an ethnological document in the University of California Series in American Archæology and Ethnology under the title "The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian" (Volume XVI, Number 7). I gratefully acknowledge the generosity of the authorities of the University Press in permitting this reissue for a wider audience, in part retranslated and considerably enlarged by the additions mentioned above.

P. R.

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

INTRODUCTION

THE common-sense man, the man in the street, has always been good-naturedly skeptical of the academically trained scholar, particularly when the latter chose to discuss the subject of man and his moods and to make generalizations concerning phases of life and thought that, from the very nature of the case, he could only remotely understand. The glamour that for so long a time hung about the educated man and his unlimited capacity for understanding everything has slowly but surely evaporated in the last generation. We are all now quite willing to admit that the economist and the sociologist, the psychologist and the historian are capable of making—and do frequently make—the most ludicrous and appalling mistakes as soon as they find themselves compelled to deal with man himself in all his vagaries, his inconsistencies, and his lack of direction. Perhaps it is this more than any other single factor that has led to the popular characterization of history as a pleasant, amiable, but wholly imaginative record of man as he never existed. We can fill our libraries and public archives with as many details as we wish and yet in no way improve on the situation or alter the fundamental distortion and ludicrousness of the average presentation of history. The real man, man as

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

he actually is, will never be revealed to us in this manner.

There is nothing new in this criticism. Most of us have always suspected that such was the case, and have, as a corrective, instinctively sought refuge in the letters and autobiographies of men of their time. But letters and autobiographies written by citizens of such complicated civilizations as are those of our own time, in their turn, represent most frequently, conscious or at best unconscious distortions of the people who wrote them. Our notions of convention and propriety effectually bar any true revelation. No man who regards his thoughts, feelings, and actions of sufficient importance for him to note them down in a diary or an autobiography, ever admits to himself or to the world for whom he is writing that his life has not been a unified whole or that it did not gradually lead to a proper and early heralded climax. Can any one picture to himself a man, in our civilization, writing an autobiography in which he frankly admitted that his life had ended in an anticlimax or that he had throughout been but a reed driven the way the wind listeth? And yet many of us, be it confessed, are so driven, even some of those who write autobiographies.

The value and significance of the autobiography that follows does not simply lie in the fact that it is a document absolutely unique of its kind—the only account that has ever been obtained from a so-called "primitive" man—but in the fact that this particular individual took his task literally and attempted to give an abso-

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§1. *Early Childhood*

Father and mother had four children and after I was born. An uncle of my mother named White Cloud spoke to her before I was born and told her, "You are about to give birth to a child who will not be an ordinary individual." These were the words he addressed to her. It was then that my mother gave birth to me. As soon as I was born, indeed as I was being washed—as my neck was being washed—I laughed out loudly.

I have been told [1] that I was a good-tempered child.

During childhood my father told me to fast and I obeyed him. Throughout the winter, every morning, I would get up very early, crush charcoal, and then blacken my face with it. As soon as the sun rose would I go outside and there gazing steadily at the sun, make my prayer to the spirits, crying.[2]

[1] Whenever the writer refers to events that happened before his time or before he could remember things, he always uses the quotative, "It is said."

[2] This refers to the custom of fasting of which many examples will be found later on. Among the Winnebago and many culturally related tribes, every person, male and female, was expected, between the ages of five and twelve, to seek communion with some supernatural spirit and the spirit so obtained was supposed to grant the suppliant certain powers and in general preside over his destinies throughout life. The proper manner of approaching this ordeal was to blacken one's face with charcoal and retire at night to some semi-deserted place at some distance from the house and there pray-

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

Winnebago Berdache

By NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the century, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore, while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit, at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.